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ABSTRACT

Eleanor Roosevelt's commercial radio broadcasts during her White House years (1933-1945) were significant for three reasons. First, she was one of the few women who performed as a news commentator during this period. Her ability to pursue such a career owed much to her position as First Lady and represented the merging of the roles of celebrity and broadcast journalist early in radio history. Second, although Mrs. Roosevelt's lucrative radio contracts posed ethical questions, her work also raised societal consciousness concerning the right of women to have careers and be well-paid for their work. This issue was especially germane to the male-dominated radio industry, which considered women inferior as on-air broadcasters. Third, as Mrs. Roosevelt's radio career developed, the content of her broadcasts became both more substantive and partisan. Ironically, Mrs. Roosevelt's sex and charitable donations limited criticism of her radio commentary. Thus she was able to carve out a successful career in commerical broadcasting, since her position somewhat insulated her from attacks. (Author/HOD)

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Eleanor Roosevelt: First Lady As Radio Pioneer

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Eleanor Roosevelt: First Lady As Radio Pioneer

Abstract

This paper analyzes Eleanor Roosevelt's little-known radio career during her White House years (1933-1945). Key points include: (1) Mrs. Roosevelt's use of celebrity status to promote her radio career; (2) ethical questions concerning conflicts between her role as a paid broadcaster and as First Lady, and (3) Mrs. Roosevelt's example as a role model for women in broadcasting.

Abstract

This paper analyzes Eleanor Roosevelt's little-known radio career during her White House years (1933-1945). It contends Mrs. Roosevelt's commercial broadcasts were significant for three reasons. First, she was one of the few women who performed as a news commentator during this period. Her ability to pursue such a career owed much to her position as First Lady and represented the merging of the roles of celebrity and broadcast journalist early in radio history. This view is consistent with that of historian Daniel J. Boorstin on the mass media's creation of famous personalities during the twentieth century.

Second, although Mrs. Roosevelt's lucrative radio contracts posed ethical questions, her work also raised societal consciousness concerning the right of women to have careers and be well-paid for their work. This issue was especially germane to the male-dominated radio industry which considered women inferior as on-air broadcasters. In this sense, Mrs. Roosevelt served as a role model for all career women and specifically for women seeking careers in broadcasting.

Third, as Mrs. Roosevelt's radio career developed, the content of her broadcasts became both more substantive and partisan. During the early months of World War II, her broadcasts dealt with highly charged political issues. But, ironically, the paper concludes, Mrs. Roosevelt's sex and charitable donations limited criticism of her radio commentary. Thus she was able to carve out a successful career in commercial broadcasting since her position somewhat insulated her from attacks.

Eleanor Roosevelt: First Lady As Radio Pioneer

The year just past, 1984, represented the centennial of Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, in many ways the most notable American woman of the twentieth century. During the centennial Mrs. Roosevelt's contributions were recognized in tributes to her as a humanitarian, political figure, social reformer, public speaker and journalist. Yet Mrs. Roosevelt's career as a paid radio broadcaster was almost completely overlooked. This paper attempts to fill a gap in historical understanding by describing Eleanor Roosevelt's radio career while she was First Lady and analyzing its significance as a vehicle of political and personal influence important in the evolution of commercially-sponsored radio broadcasting. It is limited to broadcasts during her White House years (1933-1945) since the nature of her broadcasts changed subsequently when she was an official in her own right as United States Representative to the United Nations.[1]

Eleanor Roosevelt was not the first woman broadcaster but she was one of the first important women in the field. While some women were radio commentators during the 1930s, the majority of them were heard on programs that dealt exclusively with homemaking.[2] Mrs. Roosevelt, however, was in a select group of approximately half-a-dozen women who delivered news, commentary, or human interest material of broad general interest. This group included Martha Crane on WLS-Chicago, Mary Margaret McBride on WOR-New York, Florence Conley on CBS, Kathryn Cravens on KMOX-St. Louis and on CBS, and the foreign correspondent Dorothy Thompson.[3]

Mrs. Roosevelt was not the first President's wife to speak over the radio. Lou Henry Hoover made radio talks to benefit youth when she was First Lady before Eleanor Roosevelt. But Mrs. Hoover's appearances were rare and not sponsored commercially.[4]

In marked contrast Eleanor Roosevelt's lengthy, sponsored broadcasts over the NBC and CBS networks while she was First Lady enlarged the concept of radio performance by notable individuals. They provide an example of the merging of the roles of celebrity and broadcast journalist. In his book, The Image, historian Daniel J. Boorstin defined the celebrity as "a person who is known for his well-knowness" rather than for proven qualities of greatness.[5]

Boorstin considered the creation of celebrities to be largely a twentieth century phenomenon encouraged by the ubiquitousness of the broadcast media. Today, Eleanor Roosevelt is remembered as one of the most outstanding women of the twentieth century. At the time of her broadcasts as First Lady, however, her attractiveness (to sponsors) stemmed from her position as a celebrity. On her programs, nevertheless, Mrs. Roosevelt expressed views concerning contemporary life, assuming the role of commentator. Although she addressed herself primarily to women, she sought to widen their interests beyond the confines of the home. Because of her role as First Lady, the programs carried an obvious political overtone.[6]

For example, a few weeks after her husband was elected President of the United States, Mrs. Roosevelt delivered a series of 12 radio commentaries, chiefly on child-rearing and family relations, sponsored by Pond's, a cold cream manufacturer. The programs were presented in the pre-inaugural period between December 9, 1932 and February 24, 1933. On one broadcast Mrs. Roosevelt remarked that the girl of today "faces the probability of learning, very young, how much she can drink of such things as whisky and gin, and sticking to the proper quantity." Apparently made sarcastically, the comment provoked outrage from Prohibitionists.[7]

The Pond's radio series generated newspaper criticism that the future First Lady was using her name "for commercial purposes," and Mrs. Roosevelt

announced that she intended to accept no more radio contracts. In a by-lined story, Lorena A. Hickok, an Associated Press reporter who was a close personal friend of Mrs. Roosevelt, reported that she would "curtail somewhat her activities" after moving into the White House. The story quoted her as saying, "I suppose I have made some mistakes."[8]

In 1934, however, a year after Roosevelt's inauguration, Mrs. Roosevelt resumed commercial broadcasting. Going off the record at her news conference, she expressed her determination to "get the money for a good cause (charity) and take the gaff." She broadcast first for a roofing company, which paid her $500 per minute the same amount earned by the highest-paid radio stars. Next, the Simmons Mattress Company sponsored her at the same price for five commentaries on highlights of the week's news.[9]

When a Brooklyn man wrote to complain that she was not worth $3000 for a six-minute broadcast, she agreed in a letter of reply that the pay was based on her position: "I think you are entirely right that no one is worth $500 a minute....I do not feel that this money is paid to me as an individual, but that it is paid to the President's wife."[10]

Yet, Mrs. Roosevelt also indicated that she believed she was deserving, at least in part, of the pay she received. In May, 1933, she wrote a Writer's Digest staff member:

> I do not like to think that my name is entirely responsible for my receiving these offers, although I realize it must be part of it, as I cannot very well divorce myself from my name. I honestly try to do every job to the best of my ability.[11]

Indeed, Mrs. Roosevelt did deliver listeners for her sponsors, proving that she was worth large sums to advertisers. Her commentary for Simmons, although scorned by intellectuals, appealed to the average person. She described her visit to the World's Fair in Chicago, parents' attempts to clean up movies seen by children, attendance at an All-Star baseball game and the humorous aspect of

New Deal programs and personalities. After the Simmons contract ended, she presented six fifteen-minute talks on education for the American typewriter industry. Then, in 1935, the Selby Shoe Company sponsored her broadcasts, which fed the public's unsuppressible appetite for first-person White House vignettes.[12]

Mrs. Roosevelt justified her commercial contracts on grounds of earning money for charity. She announced that payments for her radio broadcasts would go directly to the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker social service organization, chiefly to benefit Arthurdale, a project to aid unemployed miners in West Virginia. It was never made clear exactly how much she turned over to the group. In United Press stories, the reporter Ruby A. Black gave the total variously as $66,000 and $72,000 for an 18-month period in 1934-1935.[13]

In fact, Mrs. Roosevelt conveyed the misleading impression that she donated all the proceeds to charity, when this was not quite the case: Of $4,000 per broadcast from the shoe company, for example, her agent received $1,000. Rep. Hamilton Fish, Sr., a Republican, who represented the Roosevelts' Hyde Park district and never hesitated to embarrass the administration, charged that giving the money directly to charity created tax irregularities. Since 15 per cent of income was the maximum permissible tax deduction for charitable contributions, the First Lady, regardless of her intent, was actually withholding tax revenue from the government, Fish contended. The woman journalists who covered the First Lady, however, accepted what Mrs. Roosevelt chose to tell of her financial arrangements and did not write stories questioning Mrs. Roosevelt's radio contracts.[14]

Although payment for Mrs. Roosevelt's work undeniably involved ethical considerations, the issue also held other symbolic meaning. Because of Mrs. Roosevelt's status as the President's wife, her career offered a highly visible model for women who wished to break outside the conventional domestic

mold and pursue careers in the media. She believed that she and other women had a right to engage in careers and to be well-paid for their work. Money, Mrs. Roosevelt said in an interview, was a "token which represents real things ...real work of some kind must attend the honest making of money." To Mrs. Roosevelt, money represented a tangible payment for socially valued achievement.[15]

Her pursuit of monetary reward, even if she had not been First Lady, made her an exception among married American women during the 1930s. The majority of married women remained at home although overall the percentage of working women increased in the decade (from 24.3 per cent to 25.4 per cent), with a growing number of married women seeking jobs because of reduced family income. Public opinion overwhelmingly opposed this trend: A 1936 poll showed 82 per cent of the population against wives working if their husbands also were employed, on the theory that women were taking work away from men. But Mrs. Roosevelt's paid radio career helped keep the right of women to receive pay for employment on the national agenda.[16]

In the opinion of her family, Eleanor Roosevelt wanted and needed a career to justify her own self-worth. Her son, Elliott, attributed it to a need for "power and influence, provided it was in her own right and her own name." Her grandson, John R. Boettiger, saw it as a part of Mrs. Roosevelt's struggle "to be as full a human being as she was." Thus her radio broadcasts became a way of expressing herself and exhibiting personal growth.[17]

In voicing initial reservations about becoming First Lady to Hickok, Mrs. Roosevelt said she feared that she would be forced to limit her aspirations because of her ceremonial role in the White House. In spite of duties as an official hostess, she was determined to pursue her own activities. In a revealing article, titled, "What I Hope to Leave Behind!," printed in Pictorial Review

in April, 1933, she supported non-domestic careers "if holding a job will make a woman more of a person so that her charm, her intelligence and her experience will be of great value to other lives around her." No doubt she viewed her radio broadcasts in this light and saw them as a beacon to other women.[18]

Perhaps because 1936 was an election year, Mrs. Roosevelt did not sign a commercial radio contract that year. But after President Roosevelt was re-elected, Mrs. Roosevelt returned to sponsored radio broadcasts over the NBC network. In 1937, the Pond's company paid her $3,000 for each of thirteen weekly broadcasts. Mrs. Roosevelt incorrectly implied in public that all of the money would go directly to the American Friends Service Committee, and did not explain the $500 per broadcast was to be used for expenses and her agent's fees.[19]

She received the same fee for a twenty-six week series of fifteen-minute talks sponsored by Sweetheart Soap in 1940. The programs first were scheduled over 36 NBC stations twice weekly in the afternoon but were so popular nine more stations were added to the list. The themes formed a litany of Mrs. Roosevelt's customary radio topics: White House life and history, home management, gardening, supervision of servants, air travel, the scenic beauty of the United States, human interest aspects of political conventions and campaigns and homage to democratic ideals.

Mrs. Roosevelt's most significant broadcasting as First Lady was a series of 28 Sunday evening broadcasts in 1941 for the Pan-American Coffee Bureau, which represented eight coffee-exporting nations. The broadcasts began in October 1941 and ran through April 1942, covering the period immediately before and after the United States entry into World War II following the Pearl Harbor attack on December 7, 1941. By today's standards, it would be almost inconceivable for a President's wife to receive similar payments from foreign

governments, particularly during a war. At the time there was little concern, probably because the public was used to Mrs. Roosevelt's broadcasts.

The programs, for which Mrs. Roosevelt received a total of $28,000, helped prepare American women for war, and praised homemakers as "the first line of defense." They urged women to accept food rationing and described Mrs. Roosevelt's visits to defense installations. Time magazine said that the programs were carried by more NBC outlets that the popular "Fibber McGee and Molly" comedy show. The series ended Mrs. Roosevelt's career as a paid radio broadcaster while acting as First Lady, since she declined to broadcast commercially during the war.[20]

Mrs. Roosevelt's radio career was supported by her husband and others within his administration. Criticism that she was commercializing her position did not unduly concern the President's advisers, who thought it good politics to reach a large audience of women voters. The fact that the administration's political opponents did not attack her sponsors stands in contrast to the outcry that might be expected today if a President's wife undertook commercial broadcasts.[21]

Political elements of Mrs. Roosevelt's radio broadcasts became particularly obvious during the Pan-American Coffee Bureau series. Yet aspects of political controversy were present in almost all her programs. For example, the early reference to women drinking "whiskey and gin," which outraged fundamentalist religious factions, indicated the relationship of her broadcasts to the national political scene. The Pan-American series, however, dealt with the most substantive issues.

Before the United States entered the conflict following the attack on Pearl Harbor, Mrs. Roosevelt promoted the administration policy of aiding the British in spite of opposition from isolationists. On October 13, 1941, she urged military protection be given to the United States merchant ships carrying

supplies to Europe. On November 17, 1941, she accused isolationists in the Middle West of shortsightedness in refusing to recognize the threat of Nazi Germany.[22]

Her broadcasts aimed at convincing Americans to support European democracies, a fact not lost on Norman Thomas, the Socialist leader. When denied a request to buy radio time to present antiwar views, Thomas complained to the National Association of Broadcasters. He charged it was unfair to air interventionist broadcasts, such as those of Mrs. Roosevelt, without giving isolationists the opportunity to reply. Thomas made his complaints without avail.[23]

On the fateful Sunday, December 7, 1941, when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Mrs. Roosevelt changed her prepared remarks to urge the nation to rally behind the administration as it led the nation into war. She specifically called on women and young people to prepare themselves for the struggle ahead. "You are going to have a great opportunity - there will be high moments in which your strength and your ability will be tested. I have faith in you! Just as though I were standing upon a rock, and that rock is my faith in my fellow citizens," she said. Appeals to women to aid the war effort continued on subsequent broadcasts.[24]

On her broadcast on January 18, 1942, she invited the Secretary of Agriculture, Claude R. Wickard, to appear to advise housewives of an impending sugar shortage. The warning led to a rash of hoarding, which prompted the columnist Raymond Clapper to ask why the shortage was announced before rationing measures were put into effect. "Sometimes Mrs. Roosevelt seems so naive that you wonder whether it isn't something just a little more subtle," Clapper wrote. He suggested that the naivete masked a strong character whose will to do good overpowered her judgment.[25]

On her February 22, 1942 broadcast, Mrs. Roosevelt responded forcefuliy to criticism of her work as the unpaid assistant director of the Office of Civilian Defense, a position from which she had resigned under pressure:

> Now I am coming to my real reason for resigning from the Office of Civilian Defense. I am quite conscious that the attack on that office was not an attack on the Office itself, but an attack on me, largely because the same group which has felt that everything [that] was done to make life pleasanter and easier for the people as a whole, was in some way useless, and therefore should be branded as boondoggling.[26]

This strong defense came in response to charges in the press and in Congress that Mrs. Roosevelt had been an incapable adminstrator who had arranged for personal friends to be placed on the payroll. Forced to resign after six months on the job, Mrs. Roosevelt used her radio program to attack her critics. She contended they opposed her conception of civil defense as a way of improving physical fitness and the quality of life on the homefront.

In her broadcast a week earlier, Mrs. Roosevelt had placed her loyalty to administration policies above her usually strong support for civil liberties and the rights of minorities. In remarks that seem insensitive by today's standards, Mrs. Roosevelt defended the administration's decision to relocate Japanese-Americans to internment camps:

> We are going to move the Japanese population out of strategic areas on the west coast as soon as possible, but it is going to be done so that they will not waste their skills. They must not be allowed to plant their gardens and then have to leave them because those gardens are not only a source of subsistence to them, but they supply many people in the United States with vegetables. They should plant gardens where they are to be moved in order that we do not have an unnecessary economic strain upon the country.[27]

Unlike the broadcasts concerning sugar rationing and civil defense, this broadcast produced little reaction, an indication of the country's animosity toward Japanese-Americans.

As a radio speaker, Mrs. Roosevelt received mixed reviews. A contemporary analysis of her radio performance called attention to her clear-cut articulation and cultivated Eastern accent, although it noted that her voice ranged into a falsetto, and inflections sometimes became monotonous. High marks were awarded for "the warmth, sincerity, and earnestness prevalent in her voice."[28]

Radio Guide extolled her as a performer in spite of her high-pitched voice, which often was mimicked. In 1939 she was dubbed the "First Lady of Radio" by WNBC because of receptiveness to suggestions on how to improve her delivery. Critics contended neither originality nor distinction of expression marked much of her speaking and writing, including her broadcasts. But admirers accepted the triteness of some of her comments, both written and spoken, as her way of identifying with ordinary individuals.[29]

Some of the criticism directed at Mrs. Roosevelt's voice represented general criticism of women's voices on early radio. At the start of commercial broadcasting in the 1920s, both men and women entered the field. But both critics and listeners soon subscribed to the belief that radio sound reproduction of the era worked best with the low-pitched voices of men rather than the higher-pitched voices of women. The idea that a woman's radio voice was not as pleasant as a man's received general acceptance by radio analysts, many of whom were women, during the decade of 1928 to 1938.[30]

In conclusion, Mrs. Roosevelt's radio career as First Lady helped illustrate her own growth as a public figure. As such it served as a role model for other women seeking paid opportunities on-air. Starting as something of an oddity, Mrs. Roosevelt transformed herself during the course of her broadcasting into a commentator on substantive issues.

Certainly, she owed the initial high pay she commanded to the status she enjoyed as the wife of the President. In turn, her career in radio helped to

increase her celebrity status and to make her more valuable to the media as a marketable personality. She serves as an excellent early radio example of the celebrity phenomenon Boorstin described.

While Mrs. Roosevelt was criticized for the financial benefits she received for her radio work, she defused much of it by explaining, not altogether correctly, that all of the proceeds went to charity. Part of this criticism involved the controversy over whether any married woman should pursue a public and highly-paid career. Consequently she became a role model to women who wished to have careers and break into the male-dominated domain of radio broadcasting.

How seriously the public as a whole took Mrs. Roosevelt's commentary, however, is difficult to measure. Considering the prevailing prejudices against women, it is likely it did not take her commentary with the seriousness it would have accorded a male broadcaster. This may have worked to her advantage in an ironic way. The public was willing to accept commercialization of her position as First Lady because it considered her simply a "lady" earning money for charity. It considered her political views merely an expression of her desire to help her husband's administration. Therefore it was feasible for her to be a radio performer in spite of her sex. Yet Thomas' reference to her broadcasts indicate that she was an influential force especially among women.

FOOTNOTES

[1]The chief scholarly conference that marked Mrs. Roosevelt's centennial was held at Vassar College, Oct. 13-16, 1984. Although dozens of speeches and papers were given dealing with her activities, not one presentation considered her career as a radio broadcaster. In addition, her radio broadcasts are not covered in the authoritative history of broadcasting written by Eric Barnouw. While Barnouw mentions Mrs. Roosevelt repeatedly in his second volume, The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting in the United States (New York: Oxford, 1968), these references relate to her role as a helpmate to her husband.

[2]Catherine Heinz, "Women Radio Pioneers," Journal of Popular Culture 12 (Fall 1978), pp. 305-309.

[3]Marian Marzolf, Up From the Footnote (New York: Hasting House, 1977), pp. 123-132; Marion K. Sanders, Dorothy Thompson: A Legend in Her Time (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1973), pp. 230-231.

[4]Information provided by Dale C. Mayer, archivist, of the Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa, on March 5, 1985. Mayer now is preparing a guide to Mrs. Hoover's papers which will give exact references to her radio talks.

[5]Daniel J. Boorstin, The Image (New York: Atheneum, 1978), p. 57.

[6]Ibid., p. 47.

[7]"On Girls Learning to Drink," Literary Digest (Jan. 7, 1933), p. 20.

[8]Joseph P. Lash, Eleanor and Franklin (New York: Signet, 1971, pp. 473-74. See also Lorena A. Hickok, Associated Press news copy, New York, Feb. 4, 1933, Box 51, Bess Furman Papers, Library of Congress, hereafter referred to as BFP.

[9]Furman Diary, entry for May 14, 1934, Box 1, BFP; Lash, Eleanor and Franklin, p. 551.

[10]Eleanor Roosevelt to Edward G. Skdahl, May 21, 1934, as quoted in "Mrs. Roosevelt Feels Overpaid," clipping, New York Times, Box 51, BFP.

[11]Eleanor Roosevelt to Aron Mathieu, May 9, 1933, as quoted in Eleanor and Franklin, p. 45.

[12] Script for Simmons broadcast, July 9, 1934, Box 3027, Speech and Article File, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y., hereafter referred to as ERP, p. 9.

[13]Lash, Eleanor and Franklin, p. 551; Ruby A. Black, United Press dispatches from Washington, Jan. 16, 1935, and Jan 11, 1936, Ruby Black Papers, in the possession of her daughter, Cornelia Jane Motherill, Arlington, Va., hereafter referred as to RBP.

[14]James R. Kearney, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968), pp. 224-225.

[15]Bess Furman, proof of article titled "Life and Manners," distributed by AP Future Service, May 1, 1935, enclosed with memo from Furman to "E.R." Series 100, Box 1338, ERP.

[16]Susan Ware, Holding Their Own, (Boston: Twayne, 1982) pp. 23-24; William H. Chafe, The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920-1920 (London: Oxford, 1972), p. 108

[17]Elliot Roosevelt and James Brough, An Untold Story (New York: Putnam, 1973) p. 299. See also transcript of interview with John R. Boettinger by Emily Williams, Aug. 1, 1979, Northampton, Mass., Eleanor Roosevelt Oral History Archives, ERP, p. 58.

[18]Eleanor Roosevelt, "What I Hope to Leave Behind!" Typescript for Pictorial Review article, April 1933, Box 3028, Speech and Article File, ERP, p. 3.

[19]Eleanor Roosevelt's, "My Day" column, March 5, 1937, ERP; Lash, Eleanor and Franklin, p. 552.

[20]Time Oct. 13, 1941, p. 77.

[21]Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, "The Future of Eleanor Roosevelt," Harpers Magazine 58, (Jan. 1940), p. 137.

[22]Scripts of Mrs. Roosevelt's Pan-American Coffee Bureau program, Oct. 13, 1941, and Nov. 17, 1941, RBP.

[23]Richard W. Steele, "The Great Debate: Roosevelt, the Media and the Coming of the War, 1940-1941," The Journal of American History 71 (June 1984), p. 86.

[24]Text of Mrs. Roosevelt's Pan-American Coffee Bureau program in an unidentified newspaper clipping attached to script of Mrs. Roosevelt's Pan-American Coffee Bureau program, Dec. 7, 1941, RBP

[25]Script of Mrs. Roosevelt's Pan-American Coffee Bureau program, Jan. 18, 1942, RBP; Raymond Clapper, "Mrs. Roosevelt Sees No Evil," unidentified clipping, Liberty, April 4, 1942, in scrapbook, "Amidst Crowded Days," Box 3021, ERP.

[26]Script of Mrs. Roosevelt's Pan-American Coffee Bureau program, Feb. 22, 1942, RBP.

[27]Script of Mrs. Roosevelt's Pan-American Coffee Bureau program, Feb. 15, 1942, RBP.

[28]Geneva Kretsinger, "An Analytical Study of Selected Radio Speeches of Eleanor Roosevelt," unpublished master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 1941, pp. 157-79, as cited in Helen Jane Wamboldt, "A Descriptive and Analytical Study of the Speaking Career of Anna Eleanor Roosevelt," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1952, p. 178.

[29]Lash, Eleanor and Franklin, p. 552; Kearney, Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, pp. 224-25.

[30]Jacqueline D. St. John, "Sex Role Stereotyping in Early Broadcast History: The Career of Mary Margaret McBride," Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies 3 (Fall 1978), pp. 31-32.